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COVER

On the cover of *Rhode Island History*, April, 1954, was shown a section of Dufour wallpaper on the wall of the library of Carrington House, Williams Street, Providence, depicting the story of Telemachus on the Island of Calypso. The famous murals painted by Michele Felice Corné (now being restored by Mr. Constantine Cavousis) on the walls of the Sullivan Dorr House on Benefit Street, Providence, were shown on the *Rhode Island History* cover, April, 1957.

This month, through the courtesy of Mrs. William Larchar, we are privileged to show Dufour wallpaper on the living room of the William Larchar House at 282 Benefit Street, Providence, built in 1820. The front parlor is hung with the "Monuments of Paris," while the back parlor is decorated with scenes from the "Banks of the Bosphorus," of which this is a section on the south wall. The long panel hangs above low white bookshelves. There is an Oriental boat, a caique, in midstream and Oriental buildings: mosques and temples in the background. People along the shore in the foreground wear rich red and blue costumes. The gazebo at the left of the panel is the center of interest on the back cover.

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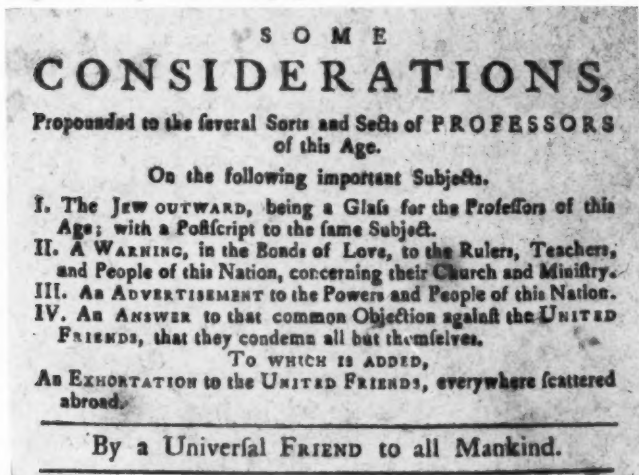
NO. 3

PLAGIARISM BY A PROPHETESS

by HERBERT A. WISBEY, JR.

Professor of History, Keuka College, Keuka Park, New York

IN 1779 John Carter of Providence printed a book with the following at the top of the title page:



This is a book of 94 pages, at the bottom of the last page of which, in a type slightly different from the text of the book and inserted unevenly, is the name *Jemima Wilkenson* [sic]. Below this is the line "Written in the month called August, 1779."¹

¹See *Rhode Island Imprints, 1727-1800*, by John E. Alden, editor (New York, 1949), p. 307-308.

A copy of the book is owned by The Rhode Island Historical Society. The John Carter Brown Library has two copies. Copy 1 has the name *Jemima Wilkenson* on p. 94; copy 2 does not. A copy owned by the American Antiquarian Society does not have the name inserted on p. 94.

The printing of the book was attributed erroneously to Bennett Wheeler. *Rhode Island Historical Collections*, v. 24, p. 60-61.

Jemima Wilkinson of Cumberland, Rhode Island, born in 1752, declared that she died in October, 1776, and while dead received a call to return to earth to preach to a sinful and dying world. After her vision she assumed the name of the Publick Universal Friend, or the Universal Friend to all Mankind, and attracted a group of followers in Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Pennsylvania, with whom she founded a settlement in what is now Jerusalem Township, Yates County, New York. Here she died in 1819. The book, *Some Considerations*, is the earliest of two publications associated with her.²

The copy owned by The Rhode Island Historical Society was purchased from Arthur Jones in 1931. In a letter that is bound with the copy, he indicated that this copy had been handed down in the family of a Lucy Nichols of Division Street, Warwick, and he believed it was one of a hundred copies printed. He cited what was evidently family tradition that Miss Nichols had provided the funds to publish the book. She may well have been one of a number of friends of Jemima Wilkinson whose subscriptions paid for the book, but, as will be seen, she did not finance it alone. Several of the Nichols family were followers of Jemima Wilkinson. In 1783 John and Mary Nichols of East Greenwich gave an acre of land as a site for a meetinghouse for her.³ A diary of Jemima Wilkinson's travels records a visit with Benjamin Nichols in Warwick on April 28, 1785, and with John Nichols on April 28 and May 2, 1785.⁴ A letter from Lucy Nichols, dated Warwick 28th of the 3 Mo. 1789, to Ruth Prichard, Jemima Wilkinson's scribe, in South Kingstown, shows that the two women had a common religious concern.⁵ This family, associated with Jemima Wilkinson, handed down the tradition along with the book, which it had owned since the publication, that the author, "a Universal Friend to all Mankind," was indeed Jemima Wilkinson.

Another copy of the book came to the attention of Shepherd Tom Hazard, who also had no doubt about its authorship. He wrote, in *The Jonny-Cake Papers*, that he was handed "for perusal, an ancient

²Joseph Sabin, *A Dictionary of Books Relating to America* (New York, 1868-1936), v. 28, p. 369.

³East Greenwich Land Evidences, Book 10, p. 8.

⁴The Jemima Wilkinson Papers, Cornell University. A microfilm copy is owned by The Rhode Island Historical Society.

⁵The Ruth Pritchard Papers, owned by Paul S. Barnes, Penn Yan, New York.

sheepskin (with the wool mostly off) covered book of ninety-three [sic] pages, written by the Prophetess Jemima Wilkinson, whilst she lived at Judge William Potter's big house, called the 'Old Abbey,' . . . the last chapter of which book is entitled 'An Exhortation to the "United Friends" everywhere scattered abroad,' that being the name of the religious society or fraternity of spiritualists established by Jemima (whose surname was altered to that of 'The Universal Friend') . . ."⁶

The main part of the book itself lists the various reasons why the Jews rejected Christ in His day and made the point that these same arguments were still used by people against the spirit of Christ. "Take heed of judging the Jews," warned the author, "Thou that disdainest and persecutest the appearance of Christ in this age, wouldst have disdainest and persecutest his appearance in that age."⁷ The contents of the book and the method of presenting the long and involved arguments, complete with scriptural support, both resembled the style and expressed the doctrine of Jemima Wilkinson so well that generally it passed as her work.

It is in fact, however, an almost verbatim copy of selections from the published works of Isaac Penington, the great Quaker preacher and writer, and from William Sewel's history of the Quakers. The material in the first four parts of *Some Considerations* may be found in Volume I of the second edition of *The Works of the Long-Mournful and Sorely-Distressed Isaac Penington*, published in London in 1761. The first and longest section, covering pages 8 through 50 of *Some Considerations*, is an almost verbatim copy of Penington's essay, "The Jew Outward: Being a Glass for the Professors of this Age,"⁸ following Penington's reasoning point by point, even to omitting the number 5 in a sequence of numbers as in the original. On page 11 of *Some Considerations* two paragraphs from Penington's "The Axe Laid to the Root of the Old Corrupt Tree" are inserted and changed slightly but significantly. The original in Penington's *Works* reads, "Not that I say your forms of Independency, Anabaptism, or Seeking, are as bad as Popery, Episcopacy, or

⁶Thomas Robinson Hazard, *The Jonny-Cake Papers* of "Shepherd Tom" . . . (Boston, 1915), p. 182-183.

⁷Jemima Wilkinson, *Some Considerations* . . . (Providence, 1779), p. 33.

⁸Isaac Penington, *Works* (London, 1761), v. 1, p. 147-173.

Presbytery: nay, they are all somewhat nearer and the last of them very much nearer."⁹ In *Some Considerations* this is changed to read, "Not that I say your forms of Independency, Anabaptism, or Quakerism, are as bad as Popery, &c. nay they are all somewhat nearer, and the last very much nearer."

The changes in the original text are slight; and paragraph after paragraph, page after page, are often copied verbatim. Even the section headings are taken from Penington. Pages 52 to 55 and 59 to 63 of *Some Considerations* are from Penington's "A Warning of Love from the Bowels of Life."¹⁰ The section, "An Advertisement to the Powers and People of this Nation," on pages 72 to 77 of *Some Considerations*, follows a section of the same title in Penington's *Works*.¹¹ The next section, on pages 77 to 84, is a copy of Penington's "An Answer to that Common Objection against the Quakers, That they condemn all but themselves," changing the word "Quakers" to "United Friends."¹² The final ten pages of the book contain a section titled "An Exhortation to the United Friends, everywhere scattered abroad." With some slight changes it consists of excerpts of letters printed in William Sewel's *The History of the Rise, Increase, and Progress, of the Christian People called Quakers*, the second edition of which was published in London in 1725. The first two paragraphs are from a letter by Judith Zinspenning;¹³ the next thirteen paragraphs are from a letter by Stephen Crisp;¹⁴ and the last five paragraphs are from a letter of William Bayly.¹⁵ The phrase "Friends everywhere scattered abroad" is used by George Fox.¹⁶ The similarity of the text of this small book and the earlier printed works is too absolute to be a coincidence. Far from being written "In the month called August, 1779," by "a Universal Friend to all Mankind," or Jemima Wilkinson, the book is a clear-cut case of plagiarism.

The first person to detect the plagiarism was Moses Brown, who saw the book in the printer's office and recognized it as selections from

⁹*Ibid.*, p. 180-181.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 341-348.

¹¹*Ibid.*, p. 397-400.

¹²*Ibid.*, p. 425-429.

¹³William Sewel, *The History of the . . . Quakers* (London, 1725), p. 428.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 448-451.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 419, 423-424.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, p. 75.

Isaac Pennington's *Works*. When he questioned one of Jemima Wilkinson's followers about it, he got the answer, "could not the Spirit dictate to her the Same Word as it did to Isaac?"¹⁷ Moses Brown's observations evidently received little publicity, however.

The whole story of this small book is clarified in an account by Abner Brownell of Groton, Connecticut, a former follower of Jemima Wilkinson. In severing his connection with the Universal Friend he felt compelled to tell the story of his part in the publication of the book "Some Considerations propounded to the Several Sorts and Sects of Professors of this Age, upon four subjects and an Exhortation, 'By a Universal Friend to all Mankind.'"¹⁸

At a certain time she [Jemima Wilkinson] came down to Dartmouth, I happening to have borrow'd a book of Isaac Pennington's works to peruse, and was showing it to her, and amongst the rest there was this subject in the book, upon the Jew outward, being a glass for the professors of this age, &c. which she wanted me to copy off, she said for some of her friends to see, and to indulge her I did, and then there was more afterwards when I had an opportunity I copied off that was applicable to the same subject; but I had no thoughts of having it printed then . . . but after I had done copying it off, and she saw it, she wanted I should make some alterations in it, and have it printed in the manner as it was, without making any quotations to the author; for she said it would have the greatest effect on the people; as it was, she said, applicable to the present dispensation; and she said it would be best only to put her name, that she call'd herself by, to it;¹⁹

After some soul searching Brownell agreed to have the book printed, but he did not exactly follow instructions about the name. He explained,

. . . I consented to her request, and corrected and put it in order for the press: but as to her name or title, which she calls "The universal Friend, &c." I could not do that with propriety, for the article *the* alludes to one person in particular, which could mean only her self; therefore I set it, "By a universal Friend, etc." which may be understood any one that was a friend to mankind, or more than one;²⁰

Brownell then clearly identified the source of the contents of the

¹⁷Moses Brown Papers, The Rhode Island Historical Society, v. 14, p. 5.

¹⁸Abner Brownell, *Enthusiastical Errors, Transpired and Detected* (New London, 1783), p. 39-41.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, p. 39-40.

²⁰*Ibid.*, p. 40.



book, the name of the printer, the place of its publication, and the method of financing it.

... the four subjects, as to the substance of them ... are the works of the aforesaid Isaac Pennington, and the exhortation was taken out of William Sewell's history, which if I had the books by me I could quote to the pages where it was taken out, for I copied it all off with my own hand, and went to the printer's and agreed to have them printed at John Carter's printing office in Providence; and afterwards I wrote a subscription and she got her friends to subscribe for them, as tho' I had done it for her; and then it was noised abroad about the books that she had put out;²¹

Abner Brownell's break with Jemima Wilkinson came as a result of a dispute over his publishing a book of his own religious feelings without first getting permission from the prophetess. Although the book contained nothing offensive to the Universal Friend, Brownell was nevertheless reprimanded.²² Rather bitterly he explained that he never had told the circumstances of the publication of the book, *Some Considerations*, until "some of her adherents could not read the discourse which I published with my name to it, because they thought it didn't come out in the right footing or in a lawful manner; yet they esteem this other book as sacred as the scripture."²³ An author is not to be scorned lightly.

Brownell's angry denunciation of Jemima Wilkinson attracted little attention, either at the time of its publication or in succeeding years. Articles about this colorful, indigenous Yankee prophetess appeared from time to time in periodicals but they show no evidence that information from Brownell's small book was used. *Some Considerations* seems to have had a rather limited circulation, even in Rhode Island where tradition associated it with Jemima Wilkinson. That these excerpts from standard Quaker sources could circulate among her followers as her own ideas indicates how similar were her religious teachings to basic Quaker beliefs. It is clear from Brownell's account that while Jemima Wilkinson did not commit the actual plagiarism herself, it was done for her, at her request and in her name. Evidently the Universal Friend felt that ordinary standards of honesty did not apply to her as she attempted to fulfill what she believed to be her divine mission.

²¹*Ibid.*, p. 40.

²²Abner Brownell, *The Worship of God according to True Christian Divinity* (New London, 1782).

²³Brownell, *Enthusiastical Errors* . . . , p. 40-41.

JEMIMA WILKINSON

Oil painting by J. L. D. Mathies. Courtesy of Mrs. Eugene D. Brown, Scottsville, N.Y.



EXHIBITION OF GLASS

A SPECIAL EXHIBITION in the Society's museum is devoted to the various types of table glass used in eighteenth-century America, with prints and other material illustrating the same theme. The glass, on loan from the collections of Mr. and Mrs. Charles P. Gorely, Jr., of Weston, Massachusetts, Mrs. G. Kenneth Stout of Wellesley Hills, Massachusetts, and Mr. and Mrs. Graham P. Teller of Wellesley, Massachusetts, includes examples of English and Continental origin as well as American pieces. Of unusual interest is a "pyramid," consisting of three salvers supporting jelly and sweetmeat glasses, an arrangement frequently used on the elaborate dessert tables of the period. Among the noteworthy pieces are rare Jacobite and other commemorative vessels, a large and varied group of engraved and gilded glass from the manufacture of La Granja de San Ildefonso, Spain, and fine examples of Stiegel and Amelung types. The arrangement in chronological sequence of a large number of wineglasses dating from 1700 to 1800, and the grouping together of decanters, bowls, flutes, rummers, cordials, firing glasses, drams, and other popular drinking vessels, afford an unusual opportunity for study and comparison. The exhibition will continue through August.



EXILE OR EDEN? THE CHILEAN EXPERIENCE OF AN EARLY RHODE ISLAND YANKEE

by ALAN S. TRUEBLOOD

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[concluded from April, 1961, v. 20, no. 2, p. 55]

III The Later Years and the Return to Rhode Island

The six years which Samuel Ward Greene, a Rhode Islander from Potowomut, spent immediately following his arrival in Chile in 1827 assisting his cousin, Horatio Jerauld, on the latter's large farm at Colina, outside Santiago, undoubtedly softened the effects of the frustrations at home which had driven him, at the age of thirty-three, to the far-off South American republic. They also strengthened his belief in himself. Though Greene persistently regrets his failure to achieve financial independence, he had won respect and esteem. No longer the inept son of an austere New England family, he enjoyed in Chile a social success denied him at home. Having thoroughly mastered Spanish, he could give free play to his native conversational gifts, for he found that the Chileans, like himself, looked upon conversation as an art to be cultivated. A tentatively self-assertive tone, a groping toward greater assurance vis-à-vis his brother, appear in his letters. Richard by now was a prominent lawyer and public figure, a success by his own definition—that is to say, financially. Always the dutiful son, Richard had taken upon himself the burden of his father's debts and after the latter's death in 1831 had assumed the support of his mother and an unmarried sister. In exchange for this, his brothers had ceded to him their interests in the property at Potowomut, of which Richard became sole owner. Samuel considered it quite just that he make over to Richard his small inheritance.

In 1831 he writes him: "I feel, as Addison says, 'a secret satisfaction' . . . in writing to you . . . with the freedom I now do. You and I . . . have never been very *intimate*. I am well aware that the fault has been mine and that two minds so entirely different and unequal . . . could find no point of common interest or . . . for thorough and confiding intercourse. . . . Time, however, and perhaps some little exertion on my own part is gradually producing that effect on my character which you . . . hoped for."

Writing his mother two months later, he makes a curiously ambivalent appraisal of Richard: "He whose character we . . . once

thought was hard and selfish, how little was he understood. What I once thought a closeness nearly allied to avarice I now see very clearly was only a proper respect for property without which a 'man can neither be useful to himself nor to others.' Two years later, in 1833, he confides to his mother: "My conversational powers, and my manners, such as they both are, if they do not make me useful friends, certainly recommend me in a degree to agreeable acquaintance, and altho I know myself to be very superficial, I maintain a standing amongst the distinguished foreigners in Santiago which affords me a great deal of pleasure and sometimes not a little surprize— . . . Am I wrong in indulging myself in this egotism? I think you had better not let Richard see my boasting — somehow or other I could never shine before him, — I could venture upon a witticism or tell a story without anxiety, because I did not fear him in those matters, but I must confess I never did or could talk well in his presence for I ever had a secret conviction that he took my measure too easily. . . ."

Samuel urges Richard to marry — a step the latter finally took only in 1851 at the age of nearly sixty, apparently finding he needed a lady to preside over Potowomut. (He had written Samuel many years earlier: "I will never marry to be poor and surely not to be rich.") And as for Samuel himself, why did he not marry? "Not," he says in one letter, "because there are not fine women and excellent wives here, but because I do not like to give up the power of returning home." Samuel was clearly not impulsive. He still felt, too, that poverty was an insuperable obstacle. He undoubtedly delighted in feminine society but if, as seems unlikely, there were any love affairs, they have left no trace. His letters offer evidence that the strict moral principles of his upbringing and his own native caution continued to keep his feelings in close check. In this he was more the exception than the rule among his compatriots.

The mastery of Spanish, together with his literary tastes, opened the country's cultural past to him as to few Americans there. Towards the end of his stay at Colina he is able to write: "I am now reading a good deal in Spanish literature and have at last got to relish the poets in that language. It had cost me some labour but I feel myself amply repaid. One epic, on the wars the Spaniards made upon the Araucanian Indians (natives of Chile), a remarkable nation never subdued and still existing, places Ercilla its author next to Homer, Virgil

and Milton. I have just read it for the second time and with the highest satisfaction."¹ Samuel's acquisition of another language and its literature meant, as it so often does, a considerable broadening of outlook. And undoubtedly the success-minded Richard Greene would have recognized the practical value, which it quite naturally does not occur to Samuel to mention, of his linguistic attainments.

Upon moving to Valparaiso in December 1833, Samuel found himself plunged back into the predominantly Anglo-American commercial life from which, he tells us, he "would gladly have remained forever aloof." He takes a position as bookkeeper and principal clerk with Alsop and Co., the most prominent American house on the Pacific coast, where he will remain six years. Again he finds himself back at his starting point and his discouragement shows through clearly. Nostalgia for Colina and Santiago now alternates with nostalgia for Potowomut in his letters. There is little to break the monotony of his life besides an occasional visit to the hospitable Santiago home of Jerauld's widow, Carmen Urmeneta. Not even the prospect that the Protestant colony will at last be allowed the meetinghouse they have so long been asking for cheers him. With his mother's death in 1835 his letters grow less frequent, for no steady correspondence was possible with Richard; we must piece together his further Chilean experience largely from other sources. Though in the long run her death would have the beneficial effect of impelling him to replace his lost home at Potowomut with a Chilean one—that of the Urmenetas, it plunges him at first into a long period of depression. His lack of capital causes him to abandon hope of ever becoming a partner in Alsop and Co. Nevertheless he writes Richard early in 1840 that he has agreed to become head of a new branch of this house in Santiago and that he has been traveling for many months supervising some mines under his charge. "I shall be able to lay by about \$2000 per annum, including the interest of my own little capital of \$4500," he writes. "In the meantime I shall live an easy life, an entirely respectable one, and be where I can be sure of care and kindness at all times. . . . I can see my way to become independ-

¹Curiously enough, Voltaire in the *Essay on Epic Poetry* previously cited (*Rhode Island History*, v. 20, no. 1, p. 3) treats Ercilla along with the same poets Greene mentions, though it is only on the basis of one episode that he finds him their peer. There were undoubtedly copies of Voltaire's essay in Chile. Had Greene been reading it there?

ent in three years if I live so long. Since I have had any property in my possession," he adds, "I have thought it my duty to keep a little paper by me to make sure that it should be remitted to you in case of accident to me, in order that my old, but not forgotten debt to you be paid."

There is an overtone of pride in this letter. If his resources do not yet permit him to free himself once and for all of the material weight of his debt to Richard, he visibly eases himself of some of the moral burden by assuring his brother, in the latter's own language of dollars and cents, that the debt would be canceled in the event of his death. With the move to Santiago, then a city of 60,000 with wide, well-paved streets and whitewashed houses, which Samuel from the outset had found far more attractive than Valparaíso, he re-enters the Urmeneta family circle. For the rest of his Chilean days he will live in the home of Jerauld's widow and the two nephews she is bringing up will be like sons to him.

For reasons of health Greene leaves Alsop's in 1842, after two years, forfeiting the prospect of financial independence, yet no doubt without regret. He becomes manager of a small farm on the outskirts of Santiago of which he is joint owner with Carmen Urmeneta. He is still close enough to participate in the social life of the capital. We know that he was an acquaintance in these years of Andrés Bello, the great Venezuelan philologist, humanist and medievalist, founder of the University of Chile and its first president.

Another member of Greene's adopted family, José Tomás Urmeneta, earlier a visitor to Providence and at this time on his way to becoming fabulously wealthy as the pioneer of large-scale copper mining in Chile and its greatest nineteenth century philanthropist, now provides him with what proves to be a happy opportunity. Investing some of his excess capital in flour mills on San Cristóbal Hill, then just outside Santiago—today the city of nearly two million has engulfed it—José Tomás makes Greene his manager. His younger brother, Gerónimo, then ten years out of Brown, is Greene's assistant. The enterprise flourishes and soon becomes the foremost in Chile. It is the ideal combination for Greene, who can still work in the country and live in the city. By 1850 he is owner of one eighth of the business. Twenty-three years after his arrival in Chile fortune has at last begun to smile on him—a slightly ironical smile, to be sure, since she is favoring him in no stirring or audacious enterprise but in

a simple milling business, such as he had worked at in his faraway youth at Potowomut. And it is no doing of his own, but a pure stroke of luck, that caps the climax: the discovery of gold in California 5,000 miles away. For a few brief years—the final ones of Greene's stay in Chile precisely—that country, a way-stop on the long trek around the Horn, became the emporium of the newly opened region, which at first totally lacked any agriculture of its own. In mid-1850 Samuel writes Richard: "If no accident occur I shall be out of debt on the 1st January next and my part of the mill will be worth \$15,000—just about double the sum I have ever been able to consider my own. If I can manage to relieve myself from the direction of the Establishment next year . . . I am strongly inclined to say I will make you a visit."

The long hoped-for return has now become a visit, for Chile had at last become the center of Greene's life. It would be five years before he would again see Rhode Island, however. He tells us that the only person who can take over the mills in his place is Gerónimo Urmeneta, "but unfortunately he has been obliged to admit the appointment of Secretary of the Treasury. I refused to release him as long as I could but so many people came to see me about the matter that I was finally obliged to consent." (Samuel is clearly pleased to let Richard see that his consent is asked in a matter of some importance to the nation.) Three years later Gerónimo had assumed the direction of the mills but, says Samuel, "the President [Manuel Bulnes]" had "urged so strongly to have Urmeneta go with him on a journey through the Southern Provinces that I could not refuse"—and Samuel takes over again. He will soon have a fixed income of \$1,800 per annum, he adds, interest being at ten per cent. With security finally attained, he has no further desire to work: neither industry nor money interest him for their own sake, an attitude more attuned to the Chilean than to the Yankee outlook.

Samuel takes considerable vicarious pride in Gerónimo Urmeneta's career: "He is the first man educated in New England and I take no small comfort in its being seen that our system of education makes more efficient men than that of Paris which has always been considered the headquarters of all that is valuable." Gerónimo, he writes, has administered the Treasury Department with "a degree of talent, energy, intelligence and decision which has covered him with golden opinions . . . and done me no little credit also as it is known his habits

of business etc. have been formed in some degree by myself."²

An index of Greene's success in acclimating himself to Chile in these years is the skill he displays in the numerous lawsuits in which he is involved as manager of the flour mills. Patiently and persistently he makes his way through the complicated meshes and infinite red tape of the jurisprudence of the period, always carrying his point in the end. He was well qualified to sketch for his cousin, Samuel Greene Arnold, the future Rhode Island senator, an outline of the Chilean judicial system which the latter recorded in the diary of his visit to Santiago in 1848.³

The final years of Samuel's Chilean life thus brought him a measure of fulfillment. "My position here is very satisfactory," he writes Richard; "almost everyone is wealthier but few more generally esteemed (and as it is only to you) I may say, respected. . . . Wherever I go I am generally urged to remain . . . I try exceedingly hard to avoid becoming a *proser*, a weakness very common to men who in their early days have been rather successful talkers. I fear though," he adds, "that you may feel inclined to think I succeed but indifferently judging from this letter." Success as a conversationalist, he knew, did not rank high with Richard.

He still desires Richard's good opinion, he is still not quite certain of possessing it. In recommending to Richard some returning American friends, "highly intelligent and rational," he calls them, Samuel writes: "I take some pride in making these persons known to you—as it is a sort of indication that while I may not have done much in the world, I have at least known how to gain the esteem of some superior people in it." And he adds: "If any good happens to me or some accidental affair causes me to be spoken of in a pleasing manner

²Gerónimo's family's instructions for his Brown education, relayed by Horatio Jerauld in 1831, had specified that he be educated "a general Scholar—particularly in the sciences"—notably chemistry, and in international law, "commerce not being worth following by an educated man." His classmates at Brown, finding the name Urmeneta beyond their powers, called Gerónimo Mr. Human Nature. In 1851, after being awarded an honorary Master of Arts degree by Brown, Gerónimo wrote of his gratitude at receiving such "testimony of esteem . . . from the hands of those who imparted [to] me the principles which have guided me in afterlife." His compatriots were particularly struck by his ability as a parliamentarian, a skill not always germane to the Latin American temperament and quite uncommon in the Chilean Congresses of his day.

³See the journal of the first part of Samuel Greene Arnold's South American tour, edited by David James and published in Spanish translation as *Viaje por América del Sur* (Buenos Aires: Emecé, 1951), p. 238.

I always think of you." In his quiet way Samuel is at last feeling able to face up to the figure who once had so overpowered him. His last communication from Chile is a draft of \$500 to Richard dated 1854; with it, we may suppose, he closed out the ancient account.

Greene's Chilean residence ended as it had begun—with illness, this time a severe heart attack. In 1855, at the age of sixty-one, he finally was able to return to Rhode Island. After a period of convalescence there he traveled on to Europe to complete his cure. Upon his return to Providence the state of his health made him unwilling to face again the long voyage back to Chile even though now steam vessels and the transfer at Panama made it a little less rigorous. During this final period of his life—he died in 1872—it was his lot to experience again the sense of separation from people and places far away among whom he felt most at home. He lost no opportunity in these years to maintain his contacts with Chile. Indeed he now had kin there, since a nephew, Charles Collins Greene, lured to California in 1849, had fallen back as far as that country, where, after starting out under his uncle's wing, he was to make a career in mining and nitrates, marry a Chilean wife and found a distinguished family which still remembers its ties with the Rhode Island Greens.

Samuel realized his long-standing dream of spending his summers at Potowomut in the old house now enlarged and improved by Richard, whose new wife and cousin, Celia Greene, was the widow of Samuel Larned, the United States chargé d'affaires who had assisted Samuel on his arrival in Chile long before. Like so many men to whom death has given its first warning, Samuel now began to think seriously about religion. He was apparently not interested in taking up again the Quaker faith of his fathers; unsure of himself, he tried out the multiplicity of Protestant sects which he had found so wanting in Chile. Finally in 1868, at the age of seventy-four, he was baptized and received into the Congregational Church in Providence.

Greene died at Potowomut September 21, 1872 after a final summer at this chosen spot. Many times in the last years, as he looked out on the fields of wheat and corn and listened to the mills turning, his thoughts must have gone back to the distant land, to the mills on San Cristóbal hill and the grain fields of Colina. Now he was looking southward, remembering the many nights that he and Jerauld had sat facing north, as one of his early letters relates,

talking of Rhode Island, under the "stupendous mountains that frown so magnificently from their almost starry heights." Whoever lives abroad must always leave something of himself behind when he returns, yet few New Englanders in Greene's day can have felt themselves in the end so much at home abroad and sensed themselves so abroad at home.

The minister who was his spiritual adviser describes him at his death as "a charming companion, a lover of social life; fond of nature and of poetry, full of resources . . ." possessing "the charm of manner, the courtesy and deference of an earlier day." And another land, we would add, for in all this we perceive echoes of Chile, the heritage of his long residence in a country foreign to his upbringing. His life story reveals that even in the nineteenth century people sometimes went abroad, as they do today, for undramatic motives rooted in their personal lives, impelled by a vague awareness of being intimately out of harmony with the society into which they are born. Though Samuel Greene continued, particularly when writing to Richard, to be preoccupied with success, he had sought out for himself an environment where success is looked upon as a by-product—an incidental effect of living for other ends. Though in one of his last letters he writes that Chileans "lack a knowledge of the value of time (seldom understood in warm climates where, as Byron says, it is a pleasure to be indolent)," it was the *tempo lento* of Chilean life, so in accord with his temperament, the influence of an environment in which time is not a commodity but simply the long dimension of living, that brought him ultimately a kind of tranquillity and a sense of belonging which he had not been able to find at home. Chance in the end had made up for his lack of aggressiveness—but even the discovery of gold in California, whose distant repercussions reached him so unexpectedly, was one of those "santos advenimientos," those gratuitous "blessed events," with which fortune frequently rewards the uncalculating hopefulness of Latins. It was his own character, in the end, insecure, impressionable, malleable, as well as unselfish, imaginative and reflective, which made it possible for Chile to leave its impress upon him and enabled him to live with the Chileans rather than just among them. If he did not find an Eden in Chile—and where is Eden to be found on earth?—his life there was far indeed from being an exile.

LONGFELLOW'S
"THE JEWISH CEMETERY AT NEWPORT"

by ELY STOCK

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How strange it seems! These Hebrews in
their graves,

Close by the street of this fair seaport
town,

Silent beside the never-silent waves,

At rest in all this moving up and down!

The trees are white with dust, that o'er
their sleep

Wave their broad curtains in the south-
wind's breath,

While underneath these leafy tents they
keep

The long, mysterious Exodus of Death.

And these sepulchral stones, so old and
brown,

That pave with level flags their burial-
place,

Seem like the tablets of the Law, thrown
down

And broken by Moses at the Moun-
tain's base.

The very names recorded here are strange,
Of foreign accent, and of different
climes;

Alvares and Rivera interchange

With Abraham and Jacob of old times.

"Blessed be God, for he created Death!"

The mourners said, "and Death is rest
and peace";

Then added, in the certainty of faith,

"And giveth Life that nevermore shall
cease."

Closed are the portals of their synagogue,
No Psalms of David now the silence
break,

No Rabbi reads the ancient Decalogue
In the grand dialect the Prophets spake.

Gone are the living, but the dead remain,
And not neglected; for a hand unseen,
Scattering its bounty, like a summer rain,
Still keeps their graves and their
remembrance green.

How came they here? What burst of
Christian hate,

What persecution, merciless and blind,
Drove o'er the sea—that desert desolate—
These Ishmaels and Hagars of
mankind?

They lived in narrow streets and lanes
obscure,

Ghetto and Judenstrass, in murk and
mire;

Taught in the school of patience to endure
The life of anguish and the death of fire.

All their lives long, with the unleavened
bread

And bitter herbs of exile and its fears,
The wasting famine of the heart they fed,
And slaked its thirst with marah of
their tears.



GRAVESTONE IN TOURO CEMETERY, NEWPORT, R. I.

Courtesy of The Society of Friends of Touro Synagogue

Anathema maranatha! was the cry
 That rang from town to town, from
 street to street:
 At every gate the accursed Mordecai
 Was mocked and jeered, and spurned
 by Christian feet.

Pride and humiliation hand in hand
 Walked with them through the world
 where'er they went;
 Trampled and beaten were they as the
 sand,
 And yet unshaken as the continent.

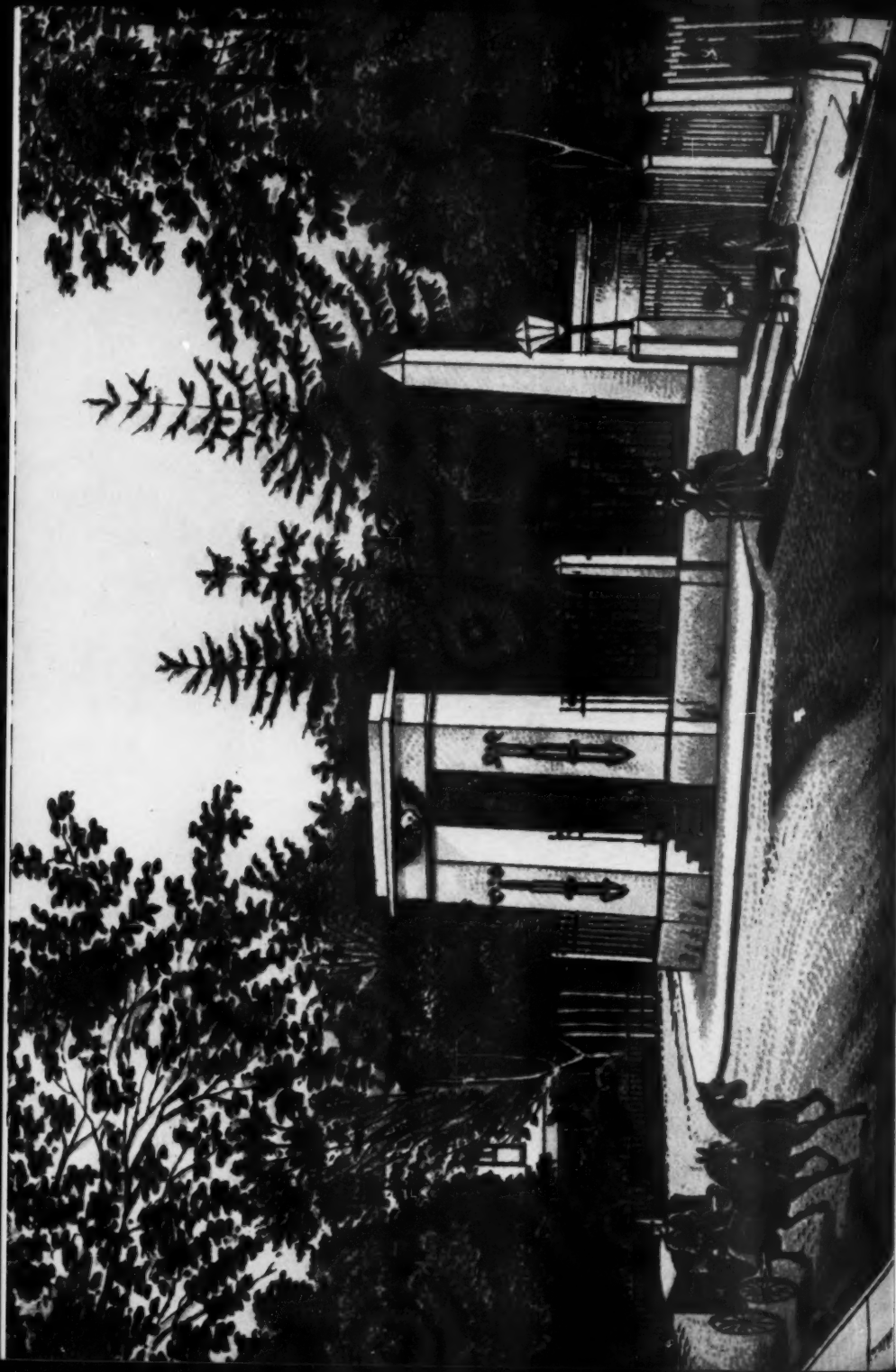
For in the background figures vague and
 vast
 Of patriarchs and of prophets rose
 sublime,
 And all the great tradition of the Past
 They saw reflected in the coming time.

And thus forever with reverted look
 The mystic volume of the world they
 read,
 Spelling it backward, like a Hebrew book,
 Till life became a Legend of the Dead.

But ah! what once has been shall be no more!
 The groaning earth in travail and in pain
 Brings forth its races, but does not restore,
 And the dead nations never rise again.

"The Jewish Cemetery at Newport," written in quatrains of unobtrusive iambic pentameter, captures, in a minor key, the sadness of Jewish history. The first four stanzas set the scene by describing the silent cemetery and the strange juxtaposition of the Hebrews resting in their graves amid "all this moving up and down." The phrase "Exodus of Death" sets the keynote for the two conditions, exile and death, which are at the core of the prevailing "wasting famine of the heart."

It is not surprising that Longfellow, writing in Newport in the year 1858, should have chosen exile and death as the salient features of Jewish life. At that time there was not a single Jew living in Newport. The descendants of the original settlers of the famous Jewish community had all migrated to cities like Boston and New York, where financial opportunities were most promising. Members of the Lopez family, the Hays family, and the Touro family, returned to Newport in death, to be interred in the cemetery. The "... hand unseen, / Scattering its bounty, like summer rain," was that of Judah Touro who had bequeathed the sum of \$10,000 for the upkeep of the



synagogue and cemetery.¹ It might well have seemed to Longfellow, under these circumstances, that the community was united only in death, and that the Jews blessed God "for he created Death!" Actually the mourner's prayer in Jewish ritual blesses (or praises) God, but makes no mention of "Death."²

To Longfellow, the exile and death of the Hebrew nation was a self-imposed one.

And thus forever with reverted look
The mystic volume of the world they read,
Spelling it backward, like a Hebrew book,
Till life became a Legend of the Dead.

Longfellow marveled at this "reverted look" and backward spelling of life and stressed this theme throughout the poem. Thus he used moments of sadness and stress in Jewish history as similes and metaphors in the poem. Moses is depicted as breaking the tablets of the Law; the Jews themselves are likened to the outcasts, Ishmael

¹Morris A. Gutstein, *The Story of The Jews of Newport*, New York, Bloch Publishing Co., 1936, pp. 214-54. It should be understood that Judah Touro was only the material manifestation of the "unseen hand" of God.

²The complete prayer taken from *Prayers of Israel* arranged by Jacob Bosniak, 1925, reads as follows:

Magnified and sanctified be His great name in the world which he hath created according to His will. May He establish His kingdom during your life and during your days, and during the life of all the house of Israel, even speedily and at a near time, and say ye Amen.

Let His great name be blessed for ever and to all eternity.

Blessed, praised and glorified, exalted, extolled and honored, adored and lauded be the name of the Holy One, blessed be He; though He be high above all the blessings and hymns, praises and songs, which are uttered in the world; and say ye, Amen.

May there be abundant peace from heaven, and life for us and for all Israel; and say ye, Amen.

He who maketh peace in His high places, may He make peace for us and for all Israel; and say ye, Amen.

It is interesting to note, however, that Longfellow's conception of the Jewish view on Death is that of the mystical school of the "Kabbalah," doctrine espoused by some of the exiles from Spain who had settled at Newport. See Gershom G. Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, Thames and Hudson, London, 1955.

and Hagar; and Mordecai is shown being mocked at and jeered, not ultimately triumphant as he was in the Book of Esther.

Longfellow draws on the Jewish Passover customs to stress the alienation of the Hebrews from the world community and their self-imposed Exodus.

All their lives long, with the unleavened bread
And bitter herbs of exile and its fears,
The wasting famine of the heart they fed,
And slaked its thirst with marah of their tears.

"Unleavened bread" and "bitter herbs" are traditional foods, eaten to recall the hardships of the Exodus from Egypt. By using the Hebrew word "marah" which means bitterness, Longfellow not only achieves an exotic sound effect, but also emphasizes the strangeness of the Hebrews. They were content to sustain themselves with "marah" of memory. As one of the stopping places in their self-imposed Exodus from Egypt, the term "marah" further enhances the theme of exile.

Similarly, the term "Anathema maranatha!" implies voluntary estrangement from the community. "If any man love not the Lord Jesus Christ, let him be Anathema Maran-atha," said Paul the Apostle.³ Originally the severest measure of synagogue-imposed discipline which provided for indefinite expulsion from the community, the term was adopted by persecutors of the Jews.⁴ Its mystical and alliterative sound is a strange note among the other regular iambic lines of the stanza. It is set off from the other lines of the poem just as the "Hebrews in their graves" are set off from the world of "Progress."

The thread of strangeness in the situation of the Hebrews is thus consistently drawn out through the course of the poem. The long Exodus of the Jewish people which seems to lead only to death and feeds on bitter memory is their tacit commitment to the "wasting famine of the heart."

If the unity of the poem is broken at all, it is in the last stanza in which Longfellow seems to concede rather glibly to the prophets of "Progress" of his own time. The explicit statement which asserts

³I Corinthians, 16, 22.

⁴A good discussion of these terms is in *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, I, pp. 559-561. There is uncertainty, which has not been resolved, as to the exact meaning of the words.

that "the dead nations never rise again" seems to be superfluous. While the implication throughout the poem is that the Hebrew nation will not be reborn because of its "backward look," the recognition of this tragic consequence does not denigrate the worth of the nation. The poem, which telescopes some aspects of Jewish history, rises above the level of a "romantic" escape to the past. More than anything else, it mourns the death of this nation. In consistently portraying the strangeness of this people who read the "mystic volume of the world" backward, Longfellow is, in effect, writing an elegy to the "pride and humiliation," the "patriarchs and prophets," the "morah," and the "wasting famine of the heart" of these "Hebrews in their graves."

SOME OCCUPATIONAL PATTERNS IN PARTY COMMITTEE MEMBERSHIP

by ELMER E. CORNWELL, JR.

Department of Political Science, Brown University

V. O. KEY has pointed out that: "While a great deal of information has been assembled about the composition of the electoral followings of the parties, the character and structure of the leadership corps are matters about which reliable data are scant."¹ The present investigation was undertaken with the general objective of adding to this scant store of data through an examination of the occupations recorded for members of party ward committees in selected years in Providence, Rhode Island, and, where the substitution was necessary, of closely comparable ward convention delegations.

Two hypotheses in particular suggest themselves for testing with the data set forth below. Key, again, writes: "The bulk of the leadership echelon, if one includes the base as well as the summit, tends to resemble in many respects the electoral mass which gives it birth."² From what we know about general electoral behavior it is to be expected, assuming this generalization is correct, that ward politicians

¹V. O. Key, Jr., *American State Politics: An Introduction*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1956, p. 255.

²*Ibid.*, p. 256.

would display the same parallelism with the known characteristics of the party followings that Key found in checking occupations of state legislature members. A distinct tendency was observable for Republican legislators to come from higher occupational levels than Democrats.³ Has the same been true of the parties in the Providence wards?

Secondly, and somewhat in contradiction to the first proposition, it is part of the popular mythology of American politics that men of substance and stature in the community have not been willing to devote themselves to political activity in recent years as their counterparts did some two or three generations ago. Some research findings are available which at least suggest that those possessed of economic power have in fact withdrawn from active participation in government in favor of persons from the middle and lower strata in society.⁴ The data presented below should offer opportunity to test this hypothesis and perhaps facilitate its reconciliation with the first.

Finally, if it can be shown that such a shift has indeed taken place, and particularly that in the nineteenth century, unlike the twentieth, ward politicians as well as elective officeholders were recruited from among the "best people," then inferences along certain other lines may perhaps be justified: relating, for example, to the familiar community power structure analysis,⁵ and to what apparently have been changing patterns of party operation at the grass roots level over the

³*Ibid.*, pp. 258-263.

⁴The Lynds note that "... the 'best citizens' are no longer to be found among Middletown's public officials," and go on to say that in the 1890s the opposite was the case. Robert S. and Helen Lynd, *Middletown*, New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1929, p. 421. Robert O. Schulze documents the same point in considerable detail in "The Role of Economic Dominants in Community Power Structure," *American Sociological Review*, XXIII, 1 (February, 1958), pp. 3-9. Floyd Hunter, *Community Power Structure*, Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1953, *passim*; W. Lloyd Warner, *Democracy in Jonesville*, New York: Harper, 1949, p. 223; and Bernard Berelson *et al.*, *Voting*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954, p. 158, and in other similar studies the point is made that the wielders of economic power remain in the background and people with lower class/occupational status hold the formal political positions. Warner and Berelson refer specifically to ward and precinct party officials. No study known to the author documents the *withdrawal* of economic leaders from party positions over the years.

⁵In addition to the studies cited in note 4, above, much of the literature is discussed and cited in Nelson W. Polsby, "Three Problems in the Analysis of Community Power," *American Sociological Review*, XXIV, 6 (December, 1959), pp. 796-803.

years. Such problems are best deferred until the findings themselves are presented, however.

PROCEDURE

Data for the study were obtained from lists of Providence ward committee members for both parties available in issues of the *Providence Journal Almanac* back to 1910, and lists of ward delegates to state party conventions for the earlier years.⁶ In order to facilitate comparison with findings in a prior analysis of ethnic patterns on the ward committees, some of the same sample years were chosen for present purposes.⁷ Thus the names of ward committee members for 1910, 1933, and 1957 were checked for occupational designations in the city directories of the same years; and the ward delegate lists for 1864, 1876, and 1888 published in the *Providence Journal* were treated similarly.⁸ The twelve-year intervals for the early period were necessary because of the relatively small numbers involved, while the twenty-two to twenty-four-year intervals for this century seemed adequate to reflect patterns of change, given the long tenures of committee membership frequently encountered.

Care was taken to select categories which would classify occupational titles encountered over a period of nearly one hundred years in groupings meaningful for later analysis. The manager-executive, clerical, skilled and unskilled headings found in the table below had obvious utility. Comments by observers of the American political scene going back to Tocqueville prompted a separate "lawyer" category. The other breakdowns were designed to reveal whatever impact the changing structure of the economy from one of small enterprises to one of relatively few large corporate entities might have had, with its accompanying shift from entrepreneurial to paid executive (bureaucratic) roles. Hence the differentiation between owners and partners on the one hand from salaried officials on the other, and the separation of small retail entrepreneurs from those who operated

⁶The *Providence Journal Almanac* is published annually by the Providence Journal Co. Ward delegates, lists of whom were taken from appropriate issues of the *Providence Journal*, doubtless were either chosen from the ward committees themselves, or at least drawn from the same groups in the population.

⁷Elmer E. Cornwell, Jr., "Party Absorption of Ethnic Groups: The Case of Providence, Rhode Island," *Social Forces*, XXXVIII, 3 (March, 1960), pp. 205-211.

⁸The *Providence Journal* issues for: September 17 and 30, 1864; September 21 and 30, 1876; and October 9 and 17, 1888.

manufacturing or non-retail commercial businesses.

On the chart the nine categories were recombined in order to bring out more clearly the broad and apparently significant patterns implicit in the figures. The four resulting general categories are: manual workers, clerical occupations, entrepreneurs, and managers plus professionals. The miscellaneous listing was retained, embracing as it does all individuals who could not be identified in the directories with reasonable certainty, or, once identified, bore no occupational designation.

*Occupations of Members of Ward Delegations and
Ward Committees*

	1864		1876		1888		1910		1933†		1957	
	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	D
1. Miscellaneous*	28%	7%	8%	23%	14%	23%	2%	9%	14%	10%	17%	13%
2. Mgrs., executives, etc.	3		19		14	4	8	1+	17	4	8	8
3. Lawyers	14	14	8	23		12	8	1+	10	3	9	5
4. Other professionals	..	..	..	..	..	4	4	1+	6	3	2	1
5. Business owners - mfr.	38	29	46	38	53	7	14	3	8	7	7	8
6. Business owners - retail	7	29	4		5	16	12	4	5	3	7	8
7. Clerical workers			11	8	14	7	36	25	27	27	26	33
8. Manual - skilled	10	21	4	8		27	16	36	10	31	14	10
9. Manual - unskilled	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	19	3	12	10	14
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Total members	29	14	26	13	21	26	50	69	115	111	164	115

*Following is further explanation of the various categories:

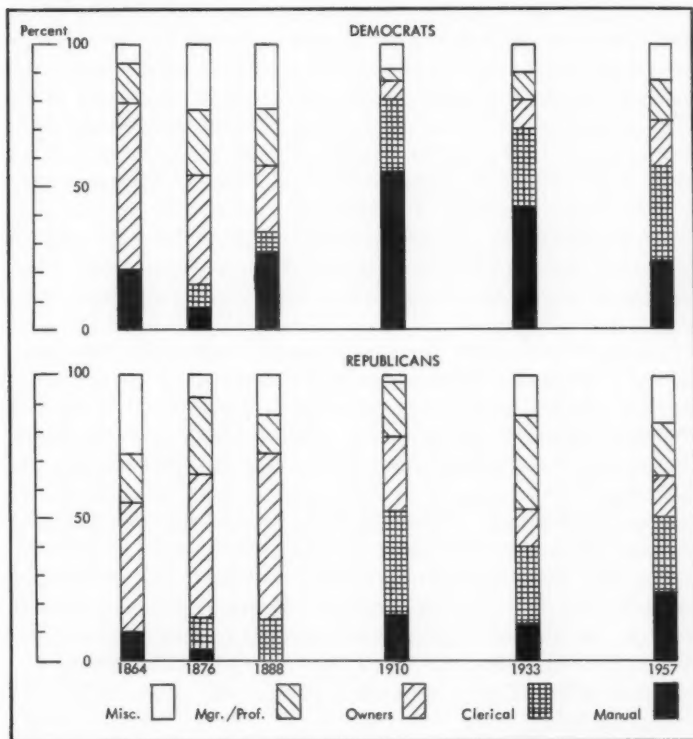
1. Represents names which could not be identified with reasonable certainty in the directory, or for whom no occupation was given.
2. Included here were persons with important executive positions, but who did not appear to be owners or partners in the enterprise.
5. Included here were persons who were owners or partners in manufacturing or non-retail commercial enterprises.
6. Effort was made here to identify retail enterprises: grocers, builders, garage owners, undertakers, etc.
7. In addition to "clerks" this includes salesmen, deputy sheriffs, foremen, and a host of similar non-manual jobs.
8. Included here are the various skilled trades (when it appeared unlikely that the individual was in business for himself), draftsmen, inspectors, etc.
9. In addition to "laborers" this includes chauffeurs, janitors, machine operators, rubber workers, etc.

†Women committee members encountered in 1933 and 1957 were listed in terms of the husband's occupation if none appeared for the individual herself.

ANALYSIS

The chart presentation in general terms does show a predictable difference between the two parties in terms of the occupational groupings from which committee members were drawn. The Democrats in Providence, on the average, relied more heavily on manual and clerical people for their cadres over the years while the Republicans have been represented by persons with higher occupational status.

Thus, in over-all terms, Key's generalization is substantiated. Perhaps more significant, however, is the fact that if the early, turn-of-the-century, and contemporary periods are examined separately, it is discovered that only in the middle period is the occupational contrast between the parties really sharp. In the other two the parties show striking similarities.



One is tempted to theorize from this that parties in a competitive situation, instead of exhibiting different class/occupational patterns among local functionaries, are as likely to tend toward basic similarity, other things being equal. Since neither can afford to ignore any major group for very long in its quest for votes, and since balancing committee rosters like balancing candidate slates is viewed as a means of

eliciting support, parallel patterns of group representation are hardly surprising. Reasoning of this sort would seem applicable at least to the figures for 1957, if not to the period of the 1860s and 1870s. The prior study done of ethnic delegations on the ward committees also revealed the same tendency toward parallel representation by both parties of all groups, in recent years.⁹

This same earlier study may well provide an answer to the question as to why, in the middle period, the committees did diverge to so pronounced a degree occupationally. It was found then that the last quarter of the nineteenth century saw the shift of control of the Democratic committees in the city from the Yankees to the Irish. There were no Irish names among the ward delegates in 1864 or 1876, though by 1900, 73% of the names were Irish, with the greatest increase coming between 1888 and 1900.¹⁰ If this ethnic shift is coupled with the general progress of the immigrants and their children up the socio-economic ladder,¹¹ the reason for the sharp rise and subsequent decline in the number of blue collar Democratic committeemen becomes apparent.

In short what seems to have happened is that the immigrant groups — predominantly Irish until fairly recently — had taken over the Democratic Party from its Yankee leadership. (The term "Yankee" is used throughout to refer to native, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant stock.) The replacing of Yankee with Irish committeemen shifted the occupational proportions sharply in the direction of the low prestige jobs held by the bulk of the newcomers. The decline in the proportion of manual workers since 1910 is then accounted for not by any decline in Irish or general "immigrant" membership but by the improving occupational status of the non-Yankees as a group. Actually the Yankee contingent declined still further while national groups other than the Irish have gained increasing representation.

The question might well be raised at this point as to whether one

⁹Cornwell, *op. cit.*

¹⁰*Ibid.*, Table 1, p. 207.

¹¹The restrained language of a recent Census monograph makes the relevant point thus: "In general it is observed that both sexes of the second generation were little attracted to the principal occupation groups of the immigrant generation, were more successful in entering the professions and sales and clerical positions, and more closely approached the distribution of the white labor force as a whole than the members of the immigrant generation." The period being discussed here is that from the Census of 1910 to that of 1950. E. P. Hutchinson, *Immigrants and Their Children, 1850-1950*, New York: John Wiley, 1956, p. 203.

is justified in assuming that the groups of ward politicians here under consideration remained essentially comparable over the hundred-year period. Did changes in function, mode of selection, the fortunes of the parties, or similar forces perhaps render period by period comparisons partially invalid? Only tentative answers can of course be given to most of these questions. There are probably more elements of long-range stability at this level of the party organization than elsewhere. Ward level activists are often around for a very long time, and their role is almost inevitably instrumental rather than policy making or power wielding. Hence changes of party fortune, orientation or leadership probably are reflected less directly and more gradually at the grass roots. Committee selection in Providence seems to have continued by coöption in practice, though in theory it shifted from caucus choice to primary election.¹² The city has not had a Hague-type machine, with the impact that this might have produced on the position of the ward leaders.¹³ In short, if there have been changes in the nature of the committees from period to period they have been of a more subtle sort.

It may well be that alteration of the city's population composition over the years has had an impact which can be correlated with the changes in the make-up of the committees, and which may have in part caused these changes. Generally speaking, Providence early in the nineteenth century had an homogeneous Yankee population. In the two or three decades prior to 1870 (the first U. S. Census showing the foreign-born in the city) immigration from the British Isles, primarily Irish, came to make up 22% of the population. Between 1870 and 1910 the foreign-born population rose to just over one third. More significantly, however, the foreign-born of "non-British" origin rose from 3% in 1870 to some 21% of the total in 1910.¹⁴

From the above figures one can hypothesize a changing role for the ward committee which may in part explain changing personnel patterns. While Providence was homogeneously Yankee, and for a

¹²Around the turn of the century a law was enacted regulating the theretofore unregulated choice of ward committeemen at ward caucus meetings. With the adoption of the direct primary in 1947, committeemen were chosen by the electorate, in theory.

¹³Such a development where it occurs deprives ward politicians of all autonomy and makes of them full-time, disciplined party functionaries.

¹⁴Percentages computed from figures found in U. S. Census of 1870 through 1910.

time after the arrival of the English-speaking Irish, this role must have been relatively simple and undemanding in that it was yet to involve either the complex problems of establishing rapport with a variety of non-English-speaking national groups, or elaborate social service functions for these same groups.¹⁵

As the "non-British" segment of the foreign-born rose to 4.6% of the total in 1880, 8.6% in 1890, 14.5% in 1900 and 21.3% in 1910 these various complexities obviously multiplied.¹⁶ Ward work presumably became both more difficult and more time-consuming, and as a result, less attractive to the "best people," one can safely assume. Yankee businessmen doubtless found it distasteful as well as awkward to try to bridge the gap between their own group and the Italians and and continental Europeans. They were not motivated, as their white- and blue-collar successors on the committees were, by promises of jobs or preferment. Little wonder that the professional-entrepreneurial classes withdrew to more congenial positions of influence behind the scenes. This trend affected both parties as the chart shows. On the Democratic committees it was supplemented by the concomitant ethnic shift discussed above which took place in the same period.

The occupational trend seen in the 1933 figures which culminates in those for 1957 probably foreshadowed a third period in ward committee role development and staffing. By the 1950s inter-group antagonisms and problems of rapport had diminished. The social service function at the ward level was of much lessened importance. Why then, have not men of substance and position re-entered politics? That they have not bespeaks no lack of urging from any number of trade associations, chambers of commerce and corporate groups.¹⁷ One answer almost certainly lies in the stereotypes that have persisted about the crooked politician and his sordid calling, derived in large

¹⁵This is not to imply that the Irish needed none of the traditional ward committee assistance, but rather that there no doubt was a time lag between their arrival and the development of these services.

¹⁶Cf. note 14.

¹⁷There have been countless seminars and other efforts (several in Rhode Island) during the last few years designed to induce businessmen to become politically active, and to teach them how. A local one was discussed in the *Providence Evening Bulletin* of December 4, 1959 under the heading: "R. I. Group Seeks Businessmen to Run for Office." Participating firms were to cull their personnel lists for likely individuals and encourage them to become candidates, presumably with necessary time off, etc.

part from the ward activities characteristic of the turn of the century (dramatized by the muckrakers). Habits of behind-the-scenes manipulation may have gained the same sort of persistence.

Perhaps more important have been the changes in the occupational structure of the economy itself. As the figures show, the kind of businessman that was in politics eighty or ninety years ago was not the paid executive, but most frequently an owner of or partner in a small business who could thus devote such time as he saw fit to politics, and probably had a clearer perception of his stake in the simpler political issues of the day. With the bureaucratization and corporatization of the economy (admittedly somewhat less advanced in Providence than in Schulze's Cibola,¹⁸ for example), fewer and fewer of those with substantial positions in economic life can escape the fixed demands of a salaried position to devote time to politics, even if they want to.¹⁹

Whether and how much this development has resulted in a genuine shift of power from what Schulze called the "economic dominants"²⁰ to the groups now represented on ward committees is problematical. Robert Lane has suggested "... the greater likelihood that larger communities afford a pluralistic power structure, one which permits several power hierarchies to exist in competition with each other."²¹ Providence falls into this category, unlike Elmira, Jonesville, Middletown²² and other smaller and more homogeneous cities whose power structures have been studied.²³ Quite probably, then, the white- and

¹⁸Schulze, *op. cit.*, attributes this kind of development to a shift from a community economy of locally rooted enterprises to one dominated by corporate affiliates of concerns based elsewhere whose resident managers tend to be in the community but not of it. Since the Providence economy has been much less influenced by this kind of absentee ownership and control, there must be other causal factors involved here.

¹⁹Cf. Andrew Hacker, *Politics and the Corporation*, New York: The Fund for the Republic, 1958; David Riesman, *The Lonely Crowd*, Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday Anchor Book, 1953; and William H. Whyte, *The Organization Man*, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1956.

²⁰Schulze, *op. cit.*

²¹Robert E. Lane, *Political Life*, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1959, p. 259. This comment is part of a useful summary discussion of the community power structure literature.

²²Cf. note 4.

²³Regional City (Hunter, *op. cit.*), though much larger even than Providence, has an atypical, unitary power structure born of its Southern location.

blue-collar dominated city party structures of a city like Providence are less a façade for the continuing influence of the economic elite than they are part of a semi-autonomous power system.²⁴

SUMMARY

A study of the occupational patterns on the ward committees of Providence revealed a general tendency for the Republicans to draw members from higher status occupations than the Democrats. It also showed, however, that this had not been uniformly true throughout the period. Rather, the patterns appeared to fluctuate in a manner related to the inflow of immigration and the absorption of the immigrants into the parties and the community at large. In recent years occupational proportions on the committees of both parties have become very similar.

It can be theorized that these same changes reflect to some extent changes in the nature of the role of the committeeman and hence the attractiveness of committee positions to various occupational groups. The continuing absence of the higher occupations from committee lists may also be attributable in part to the increase of salaried (bureaucratic) positions at the expense of the once prevalent independent entrepreneur who had time to devote to politics, and may involve a partial shift of power away from the economic elite.

²⁴Cf. Polsby, *op. cit.* He seems to have found the kind of pluralistic power pattern in New Haven, Conn., that Lane had in mind—and the kind that presumably exists in the rather similar setting of Providence.

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